

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05150 091955Z

63

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W
----- 024186

O P 091925Z AUG 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7690

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

S E C R E T GENEVA 5150

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJ: TALK WITH GUNES ON CYPRESS NEGOTIATIONS

1. GUNES ASKED ME FOR MY OBSERVATIONS ON WHAT I HAD SEEN SINCE WE HAD LAST MET IN ANKARA. I TOLD HIM THAT MY IMPRESSION WAS ONE OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BEING WILLING TO TAKE A LONG-TERM VIEW OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION AND TO CONSIDER NEW SOLUTIONS. THIS WAS NOTICEABLE BOTH IN MY TALKS WITH CLERIDES IN NICOSIA AND WITH TOP GREEK LEADERS IN ATHENS. HOWEVER, CLERIDES IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO ADVANCE HIS IDEAS WITHOUT SUPPORT FROM THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, WHILE GREEK GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY UNDERSTANDS WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE BUT REQUIRES PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF TURKEY IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION AT HOME AND ALLOW PUBLIC OPINION TO CALM DOWN. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY DOING ITS BEST TO PRACTICE RESTRAINT AS IS WITNESSED BY THE FACT THAT PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS HAS MADE NO PUBLIC STATEMENT ON CYPRUS SINCE ASSUMING OFFICE IN ORDER TO AVOID INFLAMING PUBLIC OPINION. ON THE OTHER HAND GREEK LEADERS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY UPSET OVER WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE A LARGE NUMBER OF INFLAMMATORY PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT CYPRUS BY TURKISH OFFICIALS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05150 091955Z

2. I TOLD GUNES THAT I HAD ALSO FOUND, WHILE IN CYPRUS, THAT NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION WAS BEING PAID TO BE PROBLEM OF THE TURKISH VILLAGES AND ENCLAVES. AS A RESULT OF MY FINDINGS WE HAVE DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN NICOSIA, HERE AND IN NEW YORK. THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME IMPROVEMENT. IN GENERAL I SAID THAT I BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS , TURKISH VILLAGES AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS ON THE ISLAND IN ORDER TO CREATE THE RIGHT POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR DISCUSSING THE LONG-TERM FUTURE.

3. SO FAR AS THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, I ASSURED GUNES THAT WE MIGHT BE PASSING THROUGH A DIFFICUTL PERIOD BY THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE CLEAR AND ACCEPTED, THE NEW PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY STATED HIS INTENTION TO KEEP HENRY KISSINGER AS SECRETARY OF STATE, AND I EXPECT CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE WILL SUPPORT OUR FOREIGN POLICIES EVEN MORE STRONGLY THAN BEFORE DURING THE MONTHS AHEAD. TURKEY NEED FEAR NO BASIC CHANGE IN OUR ATTITUDE. WE STILL WISH TO BE HELPFUL AND WE HOPE THAT, SO FAR AS CYPRUS IS CONCERNED, TURKISH RESTRAINT WOULD CREATE THE CONDITIONS ENABLIN US TO BE HELPFUL.

4. GUNES SAID THAT HE HAD NEVER THOUGHT UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY WOULD IN ANY WAY BE INFLUENCED BY A CHANGE OF PRESIDENTS. HE SAID TURKEY HAS NO FEARS EITHER IN GENERAL OR WHERE CYPRUS IN PARTICULAR IS CONCERNED. GUNES SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY GLAD THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD BE STAYING ON AND SO FAR AS HE IS CONCERNED THAT DEFINITELY SETTLES ANY DOUBTS AS TO UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY.

5. GUNES ADDED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE GREEKS WERE ACTING IN BAD FAITHER BUT THAT THEIR ATTITUDE IS WRONG IN THAT THEY HAVE CONCENTRATED EXCLUSIVELY ON THE CEASEFIRE AND HAVE DONE NOTHING CONCERNING TURKISH ENCLAVES. HE SAID THAT THE EVACUATION OF ALL TURKISH ENCLAVES MUST TAKE PLACE QUICKLY, RIFHT ACROSS THE BOARD. "TWENTY-TOUR HOURS SHOULD BE ENOUGH.". IF THERE WERE NO SUCH EVACUATION THE ORIGINAL TURKISH MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE WITHOUT BENEFIT. THERE-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05150 091955Z

FORE, TURKEY WOULD RESERVE ITS RIFHT TO ACT TO ACHIEVE ITS FINAL OBJECTIVES BY OTHER THAN DIPLOMATIC MEANS. GUNES SAID THAT GREECE HAD SUCCEEDED IN MOBILIZING WORLD PUBLIC OPINION SO THAT IT FOCUSSED EXCLUSIVELY ON THE CEASEFIRE AND HE SUPPOSED THIS WAS BEING DONE WITH SOVIET SUPPORT.

6. I REPLIED THAT IT WAS MY JUDGEMENT THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

SERIOUSLY DESIRES TO BRING ABOUT A LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS SPECIFICALLY INCLUDES THE QUESTION OF TURKISH ENCLAVES ON THE ISLAND. PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS HAS JUST SENT A TOP-RANKING GREEK GENERAL WITH HIS STAFF TO BEING TO BRING THE CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD AND ITS HANGERS-ON UNDER CONTROL. HOWEVER, BASED UPON MY OWN OBSERVATIONS AND THOSE OF OUR EMBASSY IN NICOSIA, THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY IS DIVIDED AMONG ITSELF AND THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF HEAVILY ARMED UNDISCIPLINED YOUTHS WHO MUST BE EITHER DISARMED OR BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL BEFORE THE SITUATION CAN BE COMPLETELY STABILIZED. ALSO MANY OF THE GREEK OFFICERS WHO HAVE BEEN SERVING WITH THE NATIONAL GUARD WERE NOT WELL DISPOSED TOWARD THE PRESENT REGIME IN ATHENS, MAKING THE GREEK TASK OF BRINGING THE NATIONAL GUARD UNDER CONTROL A MORE DIFFICULT ONE. WHERE IT CONCERNS PUBLIC OPINION, MY JUDGMENT IS THAT PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND THE USSR ARE DOING MUCH MORE TO STIR UP ANTI-TURKISH PROPAGANDA THAN THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

7. GUNES SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE STEPPING UP THEIR EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT DELAY IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, AND ARE EVEN TRYING FOR AN EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HE SAID HE HAD ALREADY TOLD THE RUSSIANS THAT IF THEY TOOK THE CYPRUS MATTER AGAIN TO UNITED NATIONS, IT WOULD HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON OTHER ASPECTS OF TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. THE SOVIETS WANT TO FORCE A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION, OBLIGING THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, SUCH AS THE ARABS, TO CHOOSE SIDES AND ENCOURAGING THEM TO SIDE WITH GREECE AGAINST TURKEY. HE SAID THAT IF GREECE CANNOT MOVE RAPIDLY TO TAKE CERTAIN BASIC DECISIONS, DESPITE ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS, THEN THE MATTER WOULD GO TO THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE THINGS IMMENSELY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 GENEVA 05150 091955Z

8. I REPLIED THAT THE BEST WAY TO KEEP THE MATTER OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS TO INSURE THAT THERE IS CALM ON THE GROUND IN CYPRUS AND THAT ALL POINTS LISTED IN THE GENEVA PHASE I DECLARATION ARE IMPLEMENTED. IF THIS CAN BE DONE AND TALKS ARE UNDERWAY ON A CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT, THEN THE MATTER BECOMES A PURELY INTERNAL ONE WHERE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OBVIOUSLY HAS NO COMPETENCE. THE USSR WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO GET THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TAKE UP THE CYPRUS QUESTION UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

9. I CONTINUED BY SUGGESTING TO GUNES THAT THE BEST WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS WOULD BE TO ALLOW THE PARTICIPANTS TO DISCUSS OR PROPOSE SEVERAL DIFFERENT MODELS RATHER THAN FORCING THEM TO FOCUS ON ONLY ONE ALTERNATIVE. THE IDEAS SUGGESTED BY CLERIDES, FOR EXAMPLE, DID NOT SEEM TO

ME NECESSARILY INCONSISTENT WITH WHAT TURKEY SEEMS TO WANT
ALTHOUGH FOR OBVIOUS POLITICAL REASONS CLERIDES USES THE TERM
"CANTONAL" RATHER THAN "FEDERAL".

10. GUNES SAID THAT IF IT WERE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO SAVE FACE HE
PERSONALLY WOULD CONSIDER THE FORMATION OF A COMMITTEE TO
STUDY CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS BUT THE POSITION OF THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT, AND THEREFORE, HIS OFFICIAL POSITION, IS THAT ANY
RETURN TO THE OLD SYSTEM OR WHAT SEEMS TO BE A RESUMPTION OF
INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. IF THERE IS NO PRIOR
AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE UNDERLYING A
FINAL SOLUTION, THEN THERE CAN BE NO MEANINGFUL TALKS. TURKEY IS
READY TO DROP THE USE OF THE WORD "FEDERAL" AND IN ANOTHER
WORD BUT IT IS NECESSARY THAT GREECE AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS
ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF TWO AUTONOMOUS GEOGRAPHICAL ADMINISTRATIONS.
THIS MUST BE DONE RAPIDLY OTHERWISE TURKEY'S PATIENCE WOULD BE
EXHAUSTED AND THERE WOULD NO LONGER BE ANY PURPOSE IN ITS ATTEMPTING
TO OBTAIN BY DIPLOMATIC MEANS WHAT IT COULD OBTAIN BY FORCE.

11. I AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO AVOID THE TYPE OF
STALEMATE WHICH HAD BOGGED DOWN EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO FIND
A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BUT THERE IS A NEED TO
ALLOW PUBLIC OPINION TO CATCH UP WITH THE REALISTIC ATTITUDES
ALREADY HELD BY CLERIDES AND THE GREEK LEADERS. IF TURKEY
TRIES TO FORCE A FINAL DECISION IN PRINCIPLE ON THE LEADERS IN THE
NEXT FEW DAYS, IT COULD DAMAGE THE POSSIBILITIES OF REACHING A
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 GENEVA 05150 091955Z

LONG-TERM AGREEMENT. I SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT GUNES CONSIDER
HAVING THE FOREIGN MINISTERS CHARGE LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS WITH
EXPLORING THE QUESTION AND THEN RETURN IN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME,
PERHAPS A MONTH, TO TRY AND REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL
PRINCIPLES. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PEACE TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS, COMBAT OPERATIONS, MINORITIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 AUG 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA05150
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740218-1018
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740861/aaaacahg.tel
Line Count: 206
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2002 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TALK WITH GUNES ON CYPRESS NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, (GUNES)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005